It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive censuses have shown that the women of this race considerably exceed the men in number. According to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every 1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell to 108. It has been suggested that the independence of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce, lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep the population stationary. The question might with advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks them out for special notice is their method of divination for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm, murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular. But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among the Romans, as well as an analogous development in the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

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787 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the
former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikirs; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

211 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
731 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *cromlechs* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

114 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive custom. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called γοητεία: one of the lost books of the Orphic cycle was entitled τὰ γοητευτικά.

impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprang. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States *viâ* the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Affinities.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of

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"singular shoulder-headed celts," found only in the Malay Peninsula till the year 1875, when they were also discovered in Chota Nagpur, and figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June of that year. These "celts" are, as the name implies, ancient stone implements. Mr. Peal goes on to state the interesting fact that when he was at Ledo and Tikak, Naga villages, east of Makum, on the south-east frontier of the Lakhimpur district of Assam, in 1895, he found iron implements, miniature hoes, used by the Nagas, of a similar shape to the "shoulder-headed celts" which had been found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *mo-khiw*, a sketch of which is given, with its far projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal, and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the "shoulder-headed celts." Another interesting point is that, according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone celts is *mo-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *mo-khiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very strong. Forbes says the name *mo-gyo* in Burmese means "cloud or sky chain," which he interprets "thunderbolt," the popular belief there, as in other countries, being that these palæolithic implements fell from heaven. Although the Khasi name *mo-khiw* has no connection whatsoever with aerolites, it is a singular coincidence that the name for the Khasi hoe of the present day should almost exactly correspond with the Burmese name for the palæolithic implement found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and when it is remembered that these stone celts are of a different shape from that of the stone implements which have been found in India (with the exception of Chota Nagpur), there would seem to be some grounds for believing that the

Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam, may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khmêr and those of the Mundas and the Khasis), was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Namstik, and Sonkap group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam races), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale colour and at times rosy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi-Mikir sleeveless coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lyngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Nagas, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii. of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout disseminé, ce que les indigènes, au Cambodge du moins, appellent, comme les peuples le plus éloignés du globe 'les traits de foudre.' Ce sont ici des haches de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la plupart appartiennent au type repandu en toute la terre. D'autres de ces celtes, dits épaulés, parceque'ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fournissent donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis et transgangétiques."

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144 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
211 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
171 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat
similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Anam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
144 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
171 that the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess death customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other:—

(a) Peculiarly shaped hoe, i.e. the hoe with far projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The ancient inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas?).
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

177 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
144 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmêr group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmêr, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is after-wards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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the egg in the eyes of Palaung is demonstrated, and we know how the Khasi regards it. But the folk-tale is also important as suggesting that the ancient people of Pagan were originally serpent-worshippers, i.e. Nágas, and it is interesting to note that the Remai or Palaung women of the present day "wear a dress which is like the skin of the Naga (snake)." Is it possible that the Khasi superstition of the *thlen*, or serpent demon, and its worship, an account of which will be found under the heading of "Human Sacrifices" in the Monograph, has anything to do with the ancient snake-worship of the people of Pagan, and also of the ancient inhabitants of Naga-Dwips, and that amongst the wild Was the custom of head-hunting may have taken the place of the Khasi human sacrifices to the *thlen*?

Notwithstanding that Sir George Scott says the story has very Burman characteristics, the Palaung folk-tale is further interesting in that it speaks of the Sawbwa of the Palaungs being descended from a *princess*. This might be a suggestion of the matriarchate.

It can well be imagined how important a matter it is also, in the light of Grierson's and Kuhn's linguistic conclusions, to ascertain whether any of the Mon-Khmér people in Annam and Cambodia and neighbouring countries possess social customs in common with the Khasis. In case it may be possible for French and Siamese ethnologists in Further India to follow up these inquiries at some subsequent date, it may be stated that information regarding social customs is required with reference to the people who speak the following languages in Annam and Cambodia and Cochin China which belong to the Mon-Khmér group—*Sak*, *Stieng*, *Bolovr*, *Annamese*, *Khamou-Souen*, *Xong*, *Annam*, *Khmu*, and *Lamet*.

Notwithstanding our failure up till now to find any patent and direct social customs in common between the Khasis and the Palaungs, I am in hopes that we may yet discover some such affinities. Mr. Lewis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, states that there is no vestige of the matriarchal system among the Palaungs; but there is the folk-tale I have quoted above. In matters of succession, inheritance, &c., the Palaungs, Mr. Lewis says, profess to follow the Shans, whose customs in this regard have a Buddhistic basis. The Palaungs

are devout Buddhists, and, like the Burmans and Shans, bury their lay dead, whereas the Khasis invariably burn. There is nothing in the shape of memorial stones amongst the Palaungs. *Primâ facie* these appear to be points of differentiation between the Palaungs and the Khasis; but they should not, as has already been stated, be regarded as proof positive that the tribes are not connected, and it is possible that under the influence of Buddhism the Palaungs may have almost entirely abandoned their ancient customs, like the Christian Khasis.

Having noticed some similarities as regards birth customs, as described in Dr. Frazer's "Golden Bough," between the Khasis and certain inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, I wrote to the Dutch authorities in Batavia requesting certain further information. My application was treated with the greatest courtesy, and I am indebted to the kindness of the President, his secretary, and Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer of Indonesian Ethnology at the Gymnasium of William III., at Batavia, for some interesting as well as valuable information. With reference to possible Malay influence in the countries inhabited by the people who speak the Mon-Khmêr group of languages in Further India, it was thought desirable to ascertain whether any of the people inhabiting the Dutch East Indies possessed anything in common with the Khasis, who also belong to the Mon-Khmêr group. There are, according to Mr. Pleyte, pure matriarchal customs to be found amongst the Minangkabo Malays inhabiting the Padang uplands and adjacent countries, in Sumatra, in Agam, the fifty Kotas, and Tanah Datar, more or less mixed with patriarchal institutions; they are equally followed by the tribes inhabiting parts of Korinchi and other places. The apparently strong survival of the matriarchate in parts of the island of Sumatra, as compared with this corresponding most characteristic feature of the Khasis, is a point for consideration. Mr. Pleyte goes on to state "regarding ancestor-worship, it may be said that this is found everywhere throughout the whole Archipelago; even the tribes that have already adopted Islam, venerate the spirits of their departed." The same might be said of some of the Khasis who have accepted Christianity, and much more of the Japanese. I would here refer the reader to the chapter on "Ancestor-worship." In the

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Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes, placed in a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Teknonomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmèr family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Queens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmèrs were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tam or Lenam*, which Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *sang*.

DRESS.

Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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767 sary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hersus Bai Dienphāh writes that, "the soul religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ai kaw*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *diep-mang*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of those members of the family whose remains have been recently deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Iawbein*, or *U Iai ranghah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the custom in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either monthly, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries, and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both people we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes: "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the home. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the home. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both people, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every permanent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Mystic," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two people. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-countrymen who are still fighting. The "Khasi Mystic" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The enemies of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the enemy's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the clothing in default of the attire of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead man's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or unnatural deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere Ki Jowbei the most, the word Jowbei being made up of

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...ther, short for Mme (grandmother), and Iw, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonised, and became St. Bridget.*

The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen. (134) Then ceremonial invocations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'ning ding ding*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka ki ding* and *Ka kong ka jirngam*, to whom puja are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the missionaries, we find that U Thawlang, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasion of domestic trouble a cock is sacrificed, and a *jymphong*, or sleeveless coat is offered. This puja is called *kaba tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. (20) The following invocation to U Thawlang is then chanted — "Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who [illegible] and my life, I have covered thee, oh, father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white sleeveless coat. Do not deliver us into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory — oh that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang." We are clearly here in the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Lord Avebury's essay on "Prehistoric Civilisation."

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being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Suid-Sin*, or *Ka Kni Mynjuid*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the burning of the ashes in the cremation of the clan, a part of the ceremony consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Parra* and *U Tyngkop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Suid-Sin* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongpi have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *ing lawsi*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular receptacles, each family, or *ing*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai kaw*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. [illegible] in his "Golden Bough" has mentioned instances of festivals being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 402-403 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned shout, or hyaha. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lyngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Pomaiñ.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wár-ding (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the Mystang-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Mystang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill goddings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence U'lei Shillong, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestor — the Pah system, of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took his origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Sohlong Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak to an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Mawlieh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Etruscan haruspices. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The Khasi religion has been described by Rivet as "demon worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*nongsynghong ka engi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and men had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg breaking" never forget to repeat the formula "*ngan briéw ngan ia pop*" (I mean have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka kiri u kiri ubi kit syndung ka shah syndung na ka hynte jong ngan u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who laye down his neck (life) for my man. The use of the feminine *ka kiri* is no doubt due to metrical influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ay jatong ne u kiri iong ranglah ne u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, even oh men). The idea is that man has fallen into sin of omission and commission (*ka pap, ka kait ka lut*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jatong*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a sin-offering for man. "How the cock came to occupy such an important position, tradition is vague and self-contradicting. The fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chún-mung*,* a pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom kái is fowl, chún is beautiful, mung is country. Therefore *Kaichún-mung* is fowl of a beautiful country (Gait).

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

fowl is considered by the Deodhais, or priest-soothsayers of the Ahoms, a most important feature of the ancient Ahom ritual. But amongst the Ahoms there is the difference that auguries are obtained, not from the entrails, but by examining the legs of the fowls. The Ahoms are Shans belonging to the Tai branch, another great division of the Indo-Chinese group of the human race.

The covenant of the cock as thus explained shows the importance of this sacrifice to the Khasis. The large intestine of a fowl has two pea-like protuberances, one close to the other. One is symbolically called u *khi* or god, and the other is styled u *lalor* or man, they are connected by a thin membrane. Directly the bird has been disembowelled the sacrificer throws a few grains of rice on the entrails and then watches their curvilinear movements. If the portion of the entrail called u *khi* moves towards that portion which represents man, it is considered good position that the god has heard the prayer of the sacrificer, but if the movement proceeds in the opposite direction, then the reverse is the case and the omen is bad. If the entrails are full and healthy, having no spots (*kwai*), or blood marks (*khang*), and if the membrane between the two protuberances has not been fractured, these are favourable signs. If the intestines are empty, wrinkled, or spotted, and the membrane mentioned above is fractured, these are bad signs. Auguries also are drawn by examining the livers, the lungs and spleens and gall bladders of pigs, goats, and cattle. If the liver of a pig is healthy and without spot, the augury is good; if the reverse, it is bad. The spleen must not be unduly [illegible], whereas the [illegible] and the gall bladder must not be over full. Invocations to deduce omens from the appearance of the entrails are quoted on page 11 of U. Roy's Report. From the first invocation quoted by him it appears that the method of drawing the augury from the fowl differs slightly in detail from that which has been described to me by certain Khasis, but both descriptions agree in the main, and the slight dissimilarity in detail may be due to the methods of obtaining auguries varying slightly in different localities. Divination by breaking eggs and by other means, although not strictly sacrifice with the Khasis, partakes

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

In Fraser, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Bolor Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*ficus bengalensis*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium William III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a river "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. There the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the realms of the dead. 'During lifetime the connection between man and their placentas is never withdrawn.' The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Fraser puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed period of years, or taboo, after a birth, but the parents of the

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

close to the wall which is farthest away from the door, the bones of the males being deposited in a pot inside the tomb nearest the door. Some clans keep the pot containing the bones of the males on the right, and the vessel containing those of the females on the left hand. Then offerings of food and libations of liquor are offered to the ancestors on a stone in front of the tomb. The males then perform a ceremonial dance with swords and shields, three times, and the door of the sepulchre is closed, a flag being fixed to the tomb. All the clansfolk then depart except three men. One of these sacrifices a cock (*ior-tandieng*) in front of the tomb, a second sits behind the sacrificer, holding three firebrands, and a third sits behind the tomb. The man with the firebrands shakes them about, and then crows like a cock three times. The man behind the tomb listens attentively for any fancied noise within it, the superstition being that if the ceremonies detailed above have not been properly performed, the whole tomb will quake. If the three watchers are satisfied that there is no commotion within the tomb, then all is well, and they return and report the result to the clanspeople. This ceremony is called *tandieng*, or the fire test. Next morning the woman who is the head of the *ling-soop*, or puja-house, distributes to all those who have taken part in these sacrifices the hinder portions of the sacrificial animals. She then blesses one by one the assembled clansfolk. The latter are not permitted by custom to go to work until after three days from the time of the ceremony; the third day being called *ka sngi kait ia*. The ceremony described above is a symbolical one. The massive stone sepulchre is regarded as a symbol of a secure place of rest for the departed spirits. If the spirits of the dead are not, however, appeased by the due performance of the ceremonies attending the interment of the remains in the clan sepulchre, it is believed that they roam about and haunt their relatives on earth, and plague them with various misfortunes. It may be interesting to note here, that Mr. Moberly, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Bengal, reports that the ashes of deceased Hos, after being sprinkled with water by means of peepul branches, are collected, dried, and placed in a new earthen pot, and kept in the house until the day of burial, which may take place, as with

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the Khasis long afterwards. The bones are buried in the village under a large slab of stone (cf. the Khasi stone *sinerai-ïem*), and a monolith is erected outside the village to commemorate the deceased.

KHASI MEMORIAL STONES.

Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost everywhere in that country. Yule, Dalton, and other writers have incidentally referred to them, but, as far as is known at present, no attempt has been made to explain in any detail what is the peculiar significance of these objects to the Khasis. These stones are rightly styled memorial stones; *kyrsaw*, literally "to mark with a stone," is the word in the Khasi language for "to remember." The memorial stone, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a memorial to the dead; but we have such names of places in these hills as *Mawshai*, the salt stone (the eating of salt off the blade of a sword being one of the Khasi forms of oath), *Mawsmai*, the oath stone, *Maopdiang*, the grassy stone, and others. To commemorate with a stone an important event has been a constant custom amongst many people in many places, and the erection of grave-stones, to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are buried, is an almost universal practice amongst the Western nations, as indeed amongst some of the Eastern also. But the Khasi monoliths are no more grave-stones, in the sense of marking the place where the remains of the dead lie, than some of the memorials of Westminster Abbey and other fanes; the Khasi stones are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. It is proposed to treat this subject under the following heading:—

(1) A general description of the memorial stones in the Khasi Hills, showing that they are very similar in shape to monoliths, table-stones, or cromlechs in other parts of the world and of India.

(2) A comparison between Khasi memorial stones and those of the Ho-Mundas, the stones near Belgaum, those of

1: Gurion E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

U Lah Lasker and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Lasko" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *lyngskor*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doló* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *ryndi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raj could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *maw jog Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Lasker and a great number of people from Suriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formulated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifice. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a brisly constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Lasker. Near Suhtngatlaew is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *maw shongthait*, or stones to seat thereon, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kamatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in the manner described. There is another, very large, stone at Nongksen, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called a *mawbri Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawbri*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the Siemas of Nongkrem, which furnishes the *sohblei*, or head sacrificer, of the [illegible] of Khyrim. The stones at Mawsmai, which in ancient days used to be the head-quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills. At Mawrongiong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mourthaudur briew*.

The Khasis say that these great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wár country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities, and is an important adjunct of some of their religious ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important an event to the Khasis as the *Bah dieng-khlam* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pomblang* or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *sok-lâei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom of their own from cultivating the *lendon*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongkdar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekorlangs* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morung* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be as much in evidence as in the Khasi village. There is little or no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

773 obeyed, the country became free of the *Thlen*: but one small piece r
mained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude
Thlens, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhoo
When a *Thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means
getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, a
often follows property of the family when given away or sold. Th
Thlen attaches itself to wealth, and brings prosperity and wealth to th
family, but on the condition that it is supplied with *blood*. Its cravi
comes on at uncertain intervals: and manifests itself by sickne
among the family, by misadventure, or increasing poverty. It can on
be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer takes th
hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little blood from the nostril, caug
in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *Thlen*. The belief is that th
demon then appears in the form of a snake and devours the body of th
murdered person, which is materialised from the portions thus offere
After this, its craving is satisfied for a time, and the affairs of th
house prosper. Many families in these hills are known or suspected
be *Ki-thlen*, or keepers of a *Thlen*, and are dreaded and avoided in co
sequence. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks abo
described on it (and particularly if it is with no wound, and death h
been caused by twisting the neck), it may be presumed with almo
absolute certainty that the object of the murder was to appease
Thlen."

[179] It may be stated that, as far as I am aware in Assam, this supe
stition is peculiar to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and it is not to be m
with amongst any of the other hill-tribes of the province. It would b
especially interesting to learn whether there are any traces of a simil
superstition amongst any of the tribes of Burma and Further Indi
The *Thlen* superstition is probably of a very ancient origin. It may b
said to take the place amongst the Khasis of the head-hunting custo
amongst the Nagas. The *Thlen* superstition is still deep-rooted amongs
the people here, in many portions of the country the Khasis bein
afraid to walk out after dark for fear of being attacked by sorcerers
or persons who are searching for victims to sacrifice to the *Thlen*.

805 15. *Calculation of time.*—The Khasis adopt the lunar month
The names of the lunar months have been extracted from Colonel Bivar'
report below. I am not certain whether all Colonel Bivar's explan
nations of meanings of the names of the months are correct:

U *Kylla-lyn-kut*,—the wood-burning moon, corresponding with
January.

U *Symper*,—the windy moon, corresponding with February.

U *Lyber*,—the seed-sowing moon, corresponding with March.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Janitia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintenga", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nágas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrúng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asálu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nágas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (to date) 1872 ART Khasi ART

stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nágas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the grave being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kúki bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemmo ridge are the remains of an old Khási settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khási Hills, is at Lailong-kote, the arrangement is so different in very way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undertaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

[see end plate 2-4, Category 186 — — — Analysis]

15: Nakone E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashimong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashimong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashimong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The difference between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of ownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the *jhum* field is quite an

1. Kadashimong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Nongtrai, Mawkasam, Mawshun, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyrkong, Kyllapalum, Pine, Tandom, Nongpyrung, and Dongkon. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates imbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunjee, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

11. VILLAGE EXOGAMY

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of exogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common

Chapter III

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS FORMS OF MARRIAGE

1. Kinship Terminology and Selection of Spouse

The Khasi social structure differs greatly from that of the Garo, and one of the important differential elements is revealed in their kinship terminology. The Khasi kinship terminology does not show the structural significance of the marriage rules except for the basic distinction between own matrilineal kin, *kur*, and non-matrilineal kin, *khu*; this distinction serves to enforce the exogamous rule.

All members of Ego's generation, including both maternal and paternal cousins, are classed as *pawa* (sibling), and those of Ego's child's generation as *khun*. In these two important generations, the generation principle is the basic pattern in terms of marriage. Cutting across this principle, distinctions of sex (*ka* for female, *u* for male) and order of birth (*jait* or first, *young* or youngest, sometimes *mahlie* is added) are to be found. For instance, *ka pawa kur* is mother's sister's daughter, *u pawa kha* is father's brother's (or sister's) son. Wife is *ka-ioit*, and husband, *u-ioit*. The youngest daughter is *ka khun khadduh*.[1]

Though the terminology of Ego's and child's generations shows the generation principle, the matrilineal structure is reflected in the following points: apart from the distinction between *kur* and *kha*. i) In the child's generation (*khun*), the matrilineal nephew and niece are termed *pawa* as well as *khun*, signifying the sociologically closest members of the child's generation. ii) *Kni* is the most important kinship term among the Khasi, it designates the head (and potential head) of the descent group, i.e. the mother's brother. The mother's mother's brother is also termed *kni*, just like among the Nayar the

1. For further comparison, see U. B. Bhowmick, 1955.

19: Nakase K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's
• [171] brother. *j)* Terms for mother's sister *(kmie)* and father's sister *(kha)* are different, and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kie*. *j)* Mother's mother *(mainad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(maikha)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *pasad*.

582 As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an
601 essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional
[171] arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *para* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *lakka*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference
[171] for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a perceived cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *para* (sibling) is more often used for them than *lakka*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; rather there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousins is an indication of marriageable relatives within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable corollary in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census, for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two
582 generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four
614 Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

[171] 1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the Lusei and the Tripura. (see the discussion, in pp. 150-155)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authority, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*.

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

171 592 602 613 428 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on marriage: among the Nagri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's group, i.e. his wife's village, being thus separated from his kin, and as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house'. On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved, secondly, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *ing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on uxorilineal succession and inheritance. Hence the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Nagri Sembilan, the descent group is not organized on a *household* level, but is a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his membership in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *ing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 613 796 428 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *ing*, because his mother died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving no successor, and his *ing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes kafa who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some women

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable then.

household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the ring. As I stated before, the son-in-law is given hardly any share of the property of his natal ring on his marriage (if the ring is rich a son-in-law and the wife may receive some part), and even if his new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, his natal ring, whose authority is vested in his brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the elder sister's ring.

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The ring is a very restricted descent group, giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The ring has some continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constituent unit of a functional descent group, since the elder sisters are married by their marriages to form a new ring, though they may retain their membership in their natal ring. The central core of the ring is the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of statuses. Other sisters are ready to leave and other brothers are final members, clearly differentiated in status from that pair—the brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or statuses. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is not the descent group based on sibling links, but the ring, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the ring institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female ultimogeniture, which results in constant internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Technically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Garo sub or the ultimogeniture principle, though the internal structure is different.

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new ring, separated from her natal ring not only in residence but also socially. In other words, it is the process of fission and segmentation of an ego matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal home (i.e. her mother's descent group), though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal ring occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal ring. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matrilineal household and often prefers to reside there (Fortes, 1949, p. 77).

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the host. Furthermore, casual polygyny is prohibited, while it was preferred among the Gusii to take wives from the same market, though mostly not real wives. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Kisii wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of such polygynist belongs to different kin, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kenyerere came from neighbouring villages.

These aspects of Kisii polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Kisii social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, esg, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 139). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and one fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Kisii Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Kisii, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Nyanza.

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Kisii marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-levirate. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Kisii men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an esg, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not much any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised. It is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Ichinyenchi and Kenyerere.

I

The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structure of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son, and the fact that property is owned by the women, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the men.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group of a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the connection of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the matrix arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Kariera, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems: by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

Fig. 10. — Succession Lines of Female and Male in Matrilineal Descent System.

Lines A and B may include other males, and brothers-line their relative respectively, the numbers of descendants may vary. variations in these minor points depend on each matrix and system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilineal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father-husband of the patrilineal system, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line A and line B in Fig. 10. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intrinsic cause

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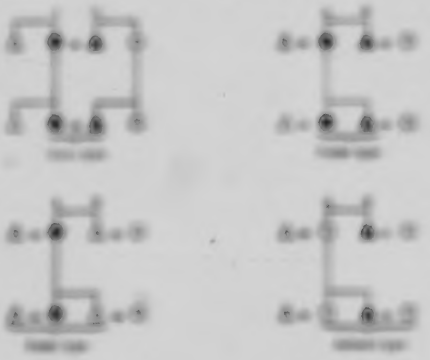
Garo AR3

FUNCTIONING OF MATRILINEAL SYSTEMS

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to meeting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the causes for the rapid disintegration or unstability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world.

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each one being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13):

● ● Spouse of the opposite sex of the descent group

□ ▲ Residence applies to the same group

Same sex sibling bond

Fig. 13. — Diverse Cases of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups

The Garo type. The residential type is husband-wife instead of brother-sister. The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is kept by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal complex for which ample documentary data is available.

The Nayar type. The counter scheme of the Garo type, the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife'. The function of both line A and B is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Minangkabau matrilineal people.

The Khasi type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with other but husband or her brother. The function of line A is much stronger than that of line B. This type is found among the Khasi, the Naga, the Lushai, the Trobriand, the Virgin Gorakhpur States, the Tiwa, etc.

The Ashanti type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with other his wife or his sister. The function of line B is much stronger than that of line A. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Ganowlo Tonga, the Malinowski, the Trobriands, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines A and B, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines A and B of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

If, leaving with the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears quite different from the rest in so far as in it both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal system.* In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized, the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system, and, in the patrilineal system, to a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group—she has no social and personal independent being in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme schemes of highly institutionalized matrilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the systems of the society

* Please mention the point in the paper (Nayar, vide p. xxx).

15: Nakano E-5 (1953-1954) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 °
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arrangement, such as the Garo and the Mangin, where both wife and husband keep important social positions as representatives of each descent group.

Leaving the Garo and the Nayar types, the following discussion deals with the implications of the differences between the Khasi type and the Ashanti type. The degree of function of the two lines *A* and *B*, is related to the residential arrangement. A household of the Khasi type includes the matrilineage women and either their husbands or brothers—brother's wives are excluded as a rule. A household of the Ashanti type includes the matrilineage men and either their wives or sisters—sister's husbands are excluded as a rule. Among the Khasi as I have already explained (p. 107), a woman and her brother's wife are never found as members of a common household, while among the Ashanti, as Fortes states, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household. In the former, since a woman is the centre of the matrilineage, her husband stands solidly closer to her matrilineage than she does to his—the husband shares the matrilineage dwelling, while a man being a peripheral member, his wife is excluded as a rule from his matrilineage residence (hence predominantly uxorilocal);[1] the Ashanti type exemplifies exactly the opposite case (predominantly virilocal or avunculocal).

The crucial point in which lies the difference between the Khasi and Ashanti types is the rule of inheritance. In matrilineal systems, as a rule, the ancestral property is inherited by the matrilineal descent group. The starting point of the difference is really in the ways of inheritance of the *acquired property* particularly by the husband. So long as a man remains with his matrilineage members, both types show no difference. The crucial difference appears in the married life. In the Khasi type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property during his matrimonial life automatically belong to and are inherited by his wife and children. On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property belong as a rule to him and are inherited by his matrilineal group, not by his wife and children. In case of divorce or death of a spouse, the difference between the Khasi and the Ashanti types appears most clearly: in the former, it is the husband who leaves, and in the latter it is the wife and children who leave. Hence the residence pattern reflects

1. Among the Khasi some groups, which I classify into the Khasi type, a junior brother who is selected for the position of head of a matrilineal family, takes his wife with him. This residential movement should be considered as an exception and limited to only such a particular condition. Such special arrangement is also found among the Nayar where fraternal arrangement is general rule.

15. Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
Garo AR5

these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a matrilocal arrangement, while the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement.[1]

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive factor for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep close social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economically from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, men keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent group at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobility. However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type, as among the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a late stage of their married life. In the case of the Tachellands, the wife stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons go back to her matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husbands' house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposite of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represented by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the women. There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, by the residential arrangement, as was broken the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Tachellands wife to her matrilineage is maintained through the presence her brothers and her, not through mother, sister or daughter. That of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister or sons, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Tachellands wives and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. These facts show that they sacrifice either the male (B) or the female (A) line to the cohabitation of wife and husband. Unless they have a structural arrangement like that of the Garo, the coresidence of the married couple is the crucial factor which modifies the matrilineal system.

The Ashanti therefore great mutability in this respect, since they do not like to sacrifice either line A or B, though actually line A is much weaker than B. The mother wishes to be with her daughter and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his sister's son, yet they do wish to have cohabitation in their marriage—containing theoretically opposed factors. This is also the case which I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disintegra-

1. These arguments do not mean that all members of a society act in the same way in any society, considerable variations in residential pattern are found in individual cases. What is important here is the model and the orientation of most of the people, the actions of which is usually followed by the majority of the people in a given society, at a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the authority of the ong mad keeps the account and manage his sister's property, he acquired property through his wife's field or his independent economic activity ordinarily go to his wife and children.

15. Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR1 ◦
Garo AR5

tion of the matrilineal system (see Nakane, 1958/B and 1964). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khasi or the Trobriand type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either *A* or *B* line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousins centred around such man. Further stated, "Cross-cousin marriage most often occurs between the children of full-siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 262). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Garo, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised as the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Mayombe and the Kongo, it is considered most desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Garo, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Rattray, 1927, Chapter XXIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning.

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type, not to those of the Khasi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no prescribed or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khasi, the Ibgo, the Zuni, the Trobriand and the Nagas Semiliun Waley,[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His nephews are already outside his economic

[1] In arranging marriage the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible naturally a large number of these marriages occur. . . . This preference, however, is not explicitly institutionalized (Smith, 1956, p. 130).

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scope; due to uxorilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Yao, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 13 per cent of 103 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Yao is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practise virilocal marriage[1] in a society where a uxorilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilineality and virilocality. The Trobriands, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Trobriand commoners there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Trobriand aristocrats should be considered as the exception, as has already been examined by Leach (1958, p. 139). In this regard the Yao and the Trobriands produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the minority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the different locus of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

II

The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems so far as the internal structure of the descent group is concerned. This section deals with the relation of the descent group to the external organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a matrilineal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood

1. Richards states among the Tao-Cewa group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a head (male) of a descent group and his sister's son (Richards, 1950, p. 179). Mitchell states that Yao cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of uxorilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956, p. 144).

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lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually comprising the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can thus be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which normally is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group.

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure.

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, elder sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *iing*. Beyond this unit (the *iing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not as an organized body of kin.

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance either than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and communal unit are the most distinctive features. Among the Khasi, property and ceremonial units are always found in an *iing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies

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to the rule of inheritance: the former follows uxorilineal (matrilineal), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1925, p. 134). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal house, while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

"The house belongs to the eldest born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die. . . . Five and then a new dwelling may be built by all the sisters, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband, but to general the same walls, or erected one on the same spot (ibid., pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but as long as it includes only one aunt-hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (ibid., p. 134).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li Anche states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 75). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent separation or building off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 189). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

"We have noted that the lineage principle . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni the inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment here into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (ibid., p. 197).

Another similar equation of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trobriand. According to Goodenough (1957):

1. This involves not only the difference of the number of members in a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi is the pair of brothers, the owner of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother); and the sibling group altogether (see p. 139) so happens in other matrilineal systems appearing in this discussion. In regard to the uxorilineal succession itself, the Zuni share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

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"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, some (p. 62) . . . pass to the corporate property of the lineage or descent line whose women live in it, but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 63).

Here, it is clear that a household provides the major basis of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Nāttangāthan *parai*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trobrian the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has thus a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[1] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trobrian is eighteen (three to thirty-four in Kiriwinan Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the uxorilocal rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation in composition which we observe among the Trobrian and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on wider organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Thus, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even the clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, where the lineage which

1. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household unit.

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corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disregarding the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored; but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact nucleus may be enough to act as the local centre for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, pace Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Again spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties or to the ramifying ties one found in exogamic systems like that of the Lele. For legal status, property, office and cult act reciprocally to hold dispersed lineages together and scattered kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 30).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, 1950, p. 163) . . .

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is invested with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and inheritance mentioned, they are not the key groupings in Hopi economics—or in terms of ritual incorporation.

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but in a sense kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. Our analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that the kinship system is expressed in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (1946, p. 132).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

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field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems. I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtlety than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the former, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, as it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 137). I cannot agree with this. In fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan.

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types of organization in similar matrilineal systems? I am not sure that I can produce at present effective hypotheses on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

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has a striking resemblance to that of the Hopi as described by Eggan. The lineage, having segmentary structure, performs strong functions as a land ownership and religious unit. However, from Bartley's account, we understand that all grandchildren of matrilineage as well as children through the male line, are called *nana*, a term which is also applied to grandparent's generation. This means that the lineal classification does not extend beyond the second generation from Ego; such a classification corresponds to the Zuni type, but not to the Hopi type.

Coming back to the discussion of the correlation between the restricted type of kinship terminology and household-lineage, we should consider another important aspect of its bilateral character. In these societies can be observed considerable bilateral tendencies reaching beyond the household-lineage. As I have made clear in the description of the Khasi, the social and economic relationship with outside members of the household are no different towards people who belong to the same descent or clan than towards those who belong to an entirely different kin-group, except as concerns directly related kindred, such as sibling and mother and children. The matrilineal group wider than the *ing* has no exclusive function at all except avoidance of marriage. In this level of organization, there is no extension of the organizing principle of the matrilineal descent system. For instance, households A, B and C are matrilineally related to each other (A is the original and B and C the outcome of the fission of A). Such matrilineal links have no exclusive features that mark them off from other households unrelated through the matrilineal descent line; actual matrilineal links are minimized in their value and function in regard to relations between households. Such characteristics of this kind of organization must be correlated with the existence of an inheritance case, in which the matrilineal rule is distorted as I mentioned elsewhere (p. 121): if there is no daughter to succeed the *ing*, the son can inherit the acquired property of the *ing*, thus creating no transmission of the property, an entirely new *ing* (of his wife), in which no matrilineal link is established. Likewise in Trik, a son is the potential heir of his father's lineage, and frequency of patrilineal arrangements as alternatives—transmission of the property on the establishment of a new property-residential group—does not always follow the strict matrilineal line. These facts point to considerable bilateral characteristics outside the household. The relationships among households are not organized upon the matrilineal principle.

Kroeber's emphasis on the bilateral character of the Zuni society should be regarded as important in this respect:

"Upon her [Zuni woman] patrilocal occupancy of the house with the matrilineal custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bila-

800 Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

"The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage to build up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his son-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his son in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 103).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants), his own matrilineal kin (his sisters' sons), and the third matrilineal sets (his sons' wives and his sister's sons' wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed, such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

"The head of a Yao village at the end taking his wife to his matrilineage residence does has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 103).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is attenuated.

Within such a [illegible] framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of clitheal arrangements, coupled with male authority or husband-father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding.

"Men are free to move and to form their own households because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove these women from the protection of their kin. . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies." (Colson, 1958, p. 66)

"With the marriage the husband obtains - but only for the probationary period - rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her sexuality. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (Ibid. p. 100)

"So long as the household contains a married couple, it is dominantly under the authority of the husband. The wife and her children form the house, the legends, but the husband is known as the responsible, 'the owner of the house'" (Ibid., p. 102)

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so." (Richards, Ibid., p. 103)

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village." (Ibid., p. 103)

The husband-father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the matrilineal system was well-established. However, the matrilineal structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband-father authority of a more stable kind, unsupported by matrilineal force.

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation:

"The non-inheriting women and their children acquire provisional rights in lands where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such lands" (Oliver, 1955, p. 199).

It is clear in these societies, that there are two sets of groups or [illegible] a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

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000 devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "ambilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential groups: the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the composition of matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification; they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, descent principle and residence (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The prominence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type present the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic elements of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

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people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the border a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the sing, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage

The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

a. A Khasi woman married to a Garha (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholag).

b. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Umrong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.

2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

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like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet, Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especially the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers. Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia. These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

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on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August-September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dao, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sieves' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practice of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 **Cottage industries.**—Cottage industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 2.27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

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698 favourably with an average attendance of 894 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 1,352 were professed Christians, 96 Hindus, 797 and 1,038 Khásis. The total cost was Rs. 31,035, viz. 6, or £2,069, 872 13s. 3d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 30,198. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8 3 3, or 17s., of which Rs. 7 14 7 (651) represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásis is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy Commissioners, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

873 Middle English Schools.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 227 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 213. The total expenditure was (652) Rs. 4,580, 13 9, or £458, 2s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1,436 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13 3, or £1, 17s. 8d.

171 • Female Instruction.—The Khási and Jáintia Hills is the only 562 District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in 871 which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1892-93 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 191 to 300, or by more than 57 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to 1·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Púnjí, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillong. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

871 Normal Schools.—According to the classification adopted by the 648 Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Púnjí, under the 797 management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1892-93 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 33. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out (651) during the year, 3 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4,032, 6 4, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109, 0, 3, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 107, 2, 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year